1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

867 [309] lock in addition. But boys never wear the ring of hair, which would be insulting to them.

864 When sex differentiation becomes more emphasized in the culture, at about seven, sex talk and sex play goes on primarily within the peer group of the same sex. The invitation to do this is "enkä sälantiya", (lit. let us play at guessing impolite matters). They play hide and seek, whisper, re-enact what they have observed their parents do at night in the hut, and phantasy experimenting with sexual possibilities. Children observe a lot in the quiet of the night in the hut, but are careful not to be seen watching. They misunderstand and are greatly puzzled, since no elder will explain "impolite matters" to them. It is impolite even to mention the names of genitals and reproductive organs, such as "kola" for penis, and "ems" for vulva, so they are merely whispered about. In church school, boys are puzzled by overt references to "Mary's womb" and "God's seed", but questions are rejected as "rudeness". Youngsters in town have broader information, because there they hear "rude" talk more often among adults.

D. Toys and Games.

857 524 The economic activities of children in the fields, where they spend much time in guarding but do little intensive labor, is regarded by them more in the nature of play. It is fun to throw rocks at thieving baboons and shoot pebbles at birds, with slingshots made of "nạcha" fiber.

The boys also make a bullroarer, "mät", to scare birds away from seeds and mature crops. This instrument is also called, onomatopoetically, "gurämrämosh" (from "tägwerämärrämä", to

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857 grumble, growl, snarl). It consists of a stick of wood, a foot
524 long, 1/2 inch thick, notched at the thinner end, to which a cord of twisted fibre is attached. This is swung horizontally, above the head, to produce what is regarded as a terrifying sound. It is even used in shepherding, since boys believe it frightens away hyenas and the occasional leopard. During the rainy season, boys play it indoors to amuse each other and haze-tease younger siblings, who are frightened by it.

At the beginning of the light rainy season, when the storks and other birds fly north, children especially girls, form circles and dance rounds, chanting to the flocks of birds:

[539]

"Stork, our country is well;
the woman who baked oitta (luxurious wheat bread)
has died swallowing oitta (i.e. luxury is plentiful).

[825] At harvest time, in November, similar greetings are sung to the birds when they return from the north, from "Jerusalem" in popular belief. The Falashas children express this by singing to departing storks:

[539]

"How are you?
The people of Jerusalem (Falashas) are well)."

The Coptic Amhara hold the same belief as to the destination of the birds.

Winter games, i.e. in the rainy season, when children are restricted to the hamlet, include building of makeshift huts, in which they play "man and wife". The girls gather leaves, roll red mud inside, and "bake" cakes. Boys mimic the farmer, weave a hood of reeds, and just as he walks in the rain broadcasting his seeds, so boys broadcast pebbles.

Swimming is a favorite sport of children in the rainy season,

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

857 when even brooks are swollen, but rivers soon become too dangerous.
524 During the first season, when they learn to swim, a rope is tied
868 around the child's waist and held by an adolescent or young adult. At this time boys make waterpistols, "tiqqosh" with a bamboo syringe; also peashooters shooting small pebbles with a bamboo strip acting as spring. Boys also make panpipe flutes from stout reeds, in preparation for "spring".

E. Formal Education and Extra-curricular Activities.

872 Basic education, already described in connection with the church, now falls into two types: the traditional church school; and the modern-style elementary school. Overlaps are beginning to appear.

Until a generation ago, the traditional church school had a complete monopoly on education, and for the vast majority of all children this is still true at this writing. It resembles in structure and function the "kuttab" school of the Muslims. Boys of peasant parents usually do not enroll before the age of 11, for until then their economic services are utilized fully, and only when they approach adolescence are the needs for their education felt by parents.

874 Most of the boys attend church school for only three years, for if they wish to study beyond what the village priest can teach them they must leave home for another district or province, e.g. a monastery school. Since the peasant family usually cannot or does not wish to sponsor this, the boy who insists becomes a "wandering" student, begging his way. Usually he goes for "zema"

212 857 boys playing in the bush write on broad leaves; or on the sun-bleached shoulder blades of dead oxen or donkeys cleaned up by hyenas, vultures and ants; or even scratch letters on their own dark skins with a thorn, preferably on the underside of the arm where it can be hidden more effectively. Sometimes rocks, charcoal and iron scrap provided tools or background for writing experiments.

Boys are very proud of this achievement, and tease illiterates, particularly shepherds who have not attended school, by writing or [524] speaking phrases of Geez. Sometimes schoolboys use riddles, which they have memorized in school to memorize arithmetic, such as:

"(Question) What is two?

(Reply) Udder of female donkey;

(Question) What is four?

(Reply) Udder of cow."

[98] In reply to this teasing, illiterate shepherd boys make up "secret languages" of their own, by interlacing letters between syllables and speaking rapidly (much as zar doctors in the zar cult).

3. The Age of Obedience: Adolescence.

882 The age of experimentation, in which liberties taken by youngsters are often condoned, comes to an end as soon as puberty is reached. Parental authority, particularly that of the father, is more frequent and intense over the activities of the adolescent than over the peer-group child. The sexes are more sharply divided, no longer engage in experimental play activities in groups, and the patterns of flirting become more culturally structured, less random, and more personal. The adolescents are made to feel more "rule" conscious. With the awkwardness of adolescence comes a sudden shyness,

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524 Boys, from the "age of reason" onward, tease each other with riddles in endless inventive games, such as:

539 "(Question)":

"In its youth, white hair,
in its maturity, brown,
in its old age, red.
What is it?"

"(Reply)": "Wot". (Red-golden peppersauce).

538 Like medieval bards, Amhara entertainers (azmari) and talented individuals tell of incredible and wonderful happenings of all kinds, stories called "tarik" (synonymous, in Amharic, with history). Often these use as their base historical or pseudo-historical events, and expand on them, experimenting with persons, plots, additional details, etc. Very popular bases are the Royal Chronicles of Abyssinia, "tarik nägäst", fanciful stories about Alexander the Great, and Biblical plots, especially Apocryphal.

D. Artistic Expression: The Art of Insult and Mockery.

195 578 A person who is clever at the art of insult is given grudging admiration even by his opponents, and is called "mälasy lachä" (lit. one who shaves with his tongue). He can insult or mock so subtly that he may leave non-initiates in doubt, yet have full effect on the victim. On the other hand, a coarse person who insults people indiscriminately, regardless of propriety of person or circumstance, is despised ("ärta af").

Mockery is sometimes used for positive as well as negative purposes, especially in pedagogy, but insults are always more or less negative. Mockery, if used to teach a lesson, often employs proverbs; using metaphors, so that the person criticized must think - which might lead to his mending his ways:

578 195 537 To mock a useless act: "(it is like) a co[illegible] on a shaven head,
(like) trousers to carry dir- in".

534 a cross-country church procession on a saint's day. But modern (leftover Italian) brass trumpets are replacing it for the latter use.

2. Play and Entertainment.

A. Games and Leisure-time Activities.

524 Games are differentiated largely on the basis of age: little boys' games are largely of a hazing type or of imitation of adult behavior; adolescents' games are predominantly competitive; adult games are largely leisure pastimes. In this adult-centered culture, children's games are at the same time freely experimental and directed toward growing up as fast as possible; while an adult would be ashamed to continue playing childish games or to compete with adolescents.

Small children, especially boys, are involved in hazing activities, [863] "bedder", early in life. If they suffer a relapse into "Bedwetting", they are publicly shamed by the older children, and made to urinate publicly into a little trench. Small children are sometimes frightened by older ones with the bullroarer, ("zezzeta" - onomatopoetic), or by imitation of the sound of the hyena at night. Frequency of contact between older and younger children is especially prevalent during the "shut-in" rainy season. At this time, boys age 5 to 12 fight battles, sometimes using waterpistols ("tiqqosh") made of bamboo, with a wooden syringe. When the game gets rough ("entush") they knock each other down with knees (the seat of strength in Amhara opinion) and feet.

Boys of 8 or 9, who aspire to deaconhood at the next New Year holy days, are mock-examined by older boys who have achieved that status. The candidate must carry each of them several times around the churchyard, and must recite and chant liturgical prayers for them for hours. The candidate is punished for any disobediance by being pinched, tied up and otherwise abused.

Little girls play milder games, such as dancing rounds with other

524 girls, or two girls holding each other by the hand and spinning like a top. Sometimes somewhat older girls meet boys with whom they have established an experimental "joking relationship" ("täwaza"), and play house, building little huts out in the fields during the dry season, within the hamlet in the rainy season. This free experimentation comes to an end just before adolescence, when their relationships become more formal and more supervised.

Imitations of parental activities fill much of children's playtime. Little boys play "farmer", weave rainhoods of reeds and "broadcast" seeds (actually pebbles). Little boys begin to practice the "art of insult" (brain, not only brawn) e.g. such ethnocentric insults as the following:

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	Question: "where are you from?"
Reply: "Begemdir",	Response: "Land of shysters and quibblers."
"Shoa",	"Land of liars and traitors."
"Gojjam",	"Land of sorcerers (buda)."
"Gondar",	"Gossipers and blabbermouths."
"Curagē",	"Land of tricksters."
"Tigrē",	"Land of hotheads."

524
754 The culture's fear of black magic, especially "buda", is reflected in children's games, such as:

A: "Buda, buda, what do you eat?"

B: "Meat" (or, imitating the sorcerer's hidden language, "cakes").

A: "What do you drink?"

B: "Blood" (or, paraphrased, "pure water"). Whereupon boy B howls like a hyena (the "horse" of buda), sprints toward boy A, who flees.

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831 When no adults are present, boys play games imitating the sex life of animals, sometimes highly imaginary, e.g. the "coitus of baboons" ("ätota bəddosh"):

Seated and facing each other, two boys lift each other with their feet,

524 and rock back and forth. This is largely a projection of human
831 activities, in their minds, for they have all seen actual sexual intercourse among domestic animals.

The puzzle of human sexual activities is reflected in boys' riddles:

Question: "On a precipice, two large gourds hang down, What are they?"

Reply: "Woman's breasts."

Question: "A little goatskin bottle, with mouth and fur.(What is it?)"

Reply: "Vulva ("ens").

Question: "In a porridge of sorghum, a potato expands?"

Reply: "Vulva and penis."

Question: "Hardwood that does not break, skin bottle that is not worn out?"

Reply: "Penis and vulva."

524 Since toys are almost never made for children, they must rely on
533 older children for any that they cannot make themselves, e.g. slingshots.
537 The aforementioned flute, "washint", is made by boys age 11 to 12, of a hollow light bamboo into which four holes are bored. The flute is blown into from the right corner of the mouth. The following sounds are distinguished:

a) to keep the cows calmly grazing: extended high-pitched sound (dadada dididi).

b) to keep away the leopard: lower-pitched sounds. (A variation is believed useful to attract the leopard to lure him into a covered pit, onto which the flute is then thrown).

c) to accompany the azmari singer, e.g. at a wedding: high-pitched sound in somewhat minor key, as in wooing chants, to suggest emotion.

d) to accompany the "Ihotu" jump-dance, eg. on holy days as Temqat: a hacked, staccato sound is produced (dada dodo dada).

526 organized battles similar to the "rumble" of Western culture; but Amhara adolescents are not marked as delinquents, by such activities, especially on the ritual occasions.

The "guks" game of horsemanship, on the feast of Temqat enables late adolescents and young men to show their prowess, on a ritual occasion; this is socially approved, for in gallopping and throwing the imitation lances, in their military maneuvers, they symbolize their readiness to defend their society, their kinsmen, their district, and the Coptic Abyssinian church, i.e. the "faith". The game itself has been likened to the "jarid" game of Arab culture (footnote 98).

•524 Among leisure-time games, played by adults of either sex, and also by adolescents, the most popular is the pebble game called "gäbäta". It is played with a single partner, and there is little intensity to try to win, rather pleasure in shared activity, in a leisurely fashion: Two parallel rows of grooves are carved into a flat rock, 6 grooves in each row. The two players place 4 pebbles in each hole, so that each owns 24 pebbles in 6 grooves at the start. The game consists of passing the little pebbles ("gebeta") from hole to hole ("gudagwad").:

Illustration 1: Positions in the Pebble Game "gäbäta".

Player:

A o o o o o o ← direction of play

1 2 3 4 5 6

B o o o o o o → direction of play

B begins by removing one pebble from position B6, palms it in his hand. He then takes one pebble from the opponent's position A6, placing it into the A5 groove; he then takes from A4, places pebble in A3
A2, " A1
B1, " B2
B5, " B6 ;
then he completes position A6 by placing in it the originally palmed

Footnote 98 - Dawson: The Inte and the Arab. Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, 1950, p. 37

524 pebble, thus becoming "owner" of position A6.

Now it is the turn of player A, who can begin anywhere he likes, palming one of his own pebbles, and proceeding as above until he conquers one opponent's position, alway proceeding counterclockwise. There are many variations to this basic procedure. E.g. it is possible to become "partial owner" of a position, in which case the dispute is settled by chance, e.g. by hiding a pebble in one hand and letting the other guess which hand hides it. The player who wins all the grooves wins the game. The loser is called "ayt bälla" (lit. the rat ate him).

This game is regarded as harmless, unless a person becomes so addicted to it that he wastes all his time at it.

273 517 Entertainment of adults, especially in the towns, often involves considerable consumption of barley beer, fermented honeymead, and even "araqi". The proverb interprets stages of behavior, in drinking, as follows:

"First cup : Rat", (When one drinks eagerly, like a rodent);

"Second cup : Bee", (When there is buzzing among pleasantly agitated drinkers);

"Third cup : Monkey", (Grimacing, laughing foolishly, sweeping arms);

"Fourth cup : Dog", (When drunkards howl, without control, or depressed).

275 487 There are three types of public facilities for relaxation, found in the market-towns; The teahouse, the beer-house, and the mead-house, all of which are sharply differentiated:

The teahouse ("shay bet") is fully respectable; it is for men only, no women are supposed to enter it, and even the waiters are male. It is patronized by traders, clerks, minor officials (for high officials and nobles would not want to be seen consuming food or drink in public), police detectives, etc. Talk is largely of business matters and events of the day. The tea is consumed with a great deal of sugar dissolved in it, and a sweet condiment called "sūl", probably of Arab introduction,

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*565 512 462 [854] [853] the morning and what remains to be done. The peasant may retire for a nap, and perhaps to lie with his wife, before taking up the afternoon's work. He returns for about three more hours of plowing after his noon rest. The afternoon sun burns down on him; the plow is harder to wield; he plods on. At home the women continue their work, no sooner finishing one task than they attend to another. The mother puts the child who rides on her back to the breast whenever it cries.

*565 512 233 857 [262] [291] The shepherds do not come home for lunch. They have taken some *ĭnjarā* or *dābo* ("whole wheat bread") along with them. In harvest months they enjoy a special treat, roasting grains or pulse which they have snatched from somebody's field. Though their responsibility is great—a boy will be whipped if an animal in his charge gets hurt or lost or if it gets into fields of grain—their work is light. They spend the day running idly, practicing war chants, playing at various adult activities. Their mood is as free as the great spaces about them. As the day grows hotter they are likely to discard their sheepskin covering and move about naked. Toward dusk, the shepherds' spirits quicken. Their songs become more excited; lively melodies are heard from their wooden flutes. It is time to go home to family, supper, and fire.

*565 512 [264] When father and sons enter after the day's work, they start munching on roasted grains, *ĭnjarā*, or *dābo*. They may drink some *ṭallā* and relax. It begins to get chilly. The room is dark and smoky, the fleas bite them—but it is the easiest time of the day. The family is together, and everyone enjoys talking and hearing about the homely events of the day. A few hours after dark, supper is served. Parents and older children eat together out of a common basket. Younger children and servants stand respectfully, awaiting their turn, grateful if someone places a large bite of food in their mouths.

[515] [182] [513] [352] After dinner there is a great washing of feet—the father's by his wife or children, the others' by themselves. The peasant recites or reads his evening prayers and lies down on his bed made of strips of cowhide. The children settle for the night on the clay benches. Last of all, the mother covers the embers with ashes, sets out the grain she must grind before dawn, and places her weary body next to that of her husband's.

*565 512 527 This grueling schedule is not repeated every day. On nearly half the days in each month heavy labor is not permitted—men may not plow or harvest, women may not grind or spin. These are holy days: Saturdays and Sundays (both of which are honored as the Sabbath in Abyssinia) and the monthly and annual commemorations of the saints.

*565 512 527 462 [524] The woman's schedule on such days is only lightened, not radically altered. Food and drink must still be prepared and served. Except for a possible trip to church with her husband Sunday morning before breakfast, a woman's hours are still confined to the home compound and its obligations. The shepherds must still take care of their herds, though some boys may get together for

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The boundaries of your lips are like the sugar cane;
No matter how much one sucks them, one is never satisfied.

[539]

And in one of the few lyric passages in the first novel ever written in Amharic, the author resorts to the imagery of kissing in describing the beauty of an army camp at sunset:

[539]

> The plain on which they had encamped was vaster than the mind's eye could measure. Except for that hill on which he stood, there were no elevations or declivities; no roots to trip or confound the foot; not a stone to discomfit the eye. It looked like a calm sea that every breeze had spared. The boundaries of heaven and earth were united by lips of love; lip to lip they were joined like the parts of fitted basketry. It appeared as though it would hurt them to separate, that they had entered a vow not to part.[5]

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Talking for the sake of talking is another oral outlet of which the Amhara is generally fond. "In every country," remarked Arnauld d'Abbadie, "the plowman is miserly and sly; but the Ethiopian is, in addition, particularly loquacious."[6] The simple greeting of acquaintances evokes a barrage of ritualistic conversation, a phenomenon which stunned the Englishman Harris:

[596]

> Even two old crones, who are obviously tottering on the very brink of the grave, and who are afflicted with every pain and with every sorrow entailed by the fall of our first parents, never meet in the street without indulging in a string of good wishes which are reiterated so long as their breath will permit. "How are you? How do ye do? How have you passed your time? Are you well? Are you very well? Are you quite well? Are you perfectly well? Are you not well?"—are questions which serve as the prelude to a thousand other interrogatories; and at each response the Deity must be invoked as to the unadulterated happiness and perfect felicity that has been unremittingly experienced since the last meeting.[7]

A number of other conventions provide further opportunities for this pleasure in talking. Anecdotes and gossip are not merely reported, but are expounded at length with the aid of colorful expressions and gestures. Riddle games are enjoyed by adults as well as young people. Men vie with one another at length in a semiformalized kind of playful boasting. In the church schools all reading is done aloud, a habit which persists among many students of secondary schools when they study outside of class.

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[876]

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A related pleasure in making sounds for their own sake appears in the Amhara's delight in repeating the words or nonsense syllables of his folk songs. On a more refined level, there is his evident pleasure in lulling over and savoring the lines of a choice couplet. We have here for a whole culture an instance of what Brill has ascribed to the poets:

> Poetry is a sensuous or mystic outlet through words, or, as it were, through a chewing and sucking of nice words and phrases. The poet plays with the

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Mary intervened, placing on the empty side for good deeds a goblet of water which Balaya Sab had once given to a sick beggar out of pity; and the Eater of Men was saved. In the pictorial representation of this legend, Balaya Sab is portrayed cutting off pieces of human flesh with a curved knife in the manner in which raw beef is attacked at the Amhara table.

Most Amhara know some sort of tale about a cannibal. The topic is familiar enough that they are able to invent new ones. One boy told me he made up the following story to explain the nature of cannibals to his younger brother:

> Once there was a cannibal. He lived among many people. He had no food in his house; he was poor. But even if he had not been poor, he just liked to eat the flesh of man. In his house was a big hole which he covered with a carpet. He would invite somebody into his house and tell him to sit down on the chair over the hole. When the person sat down and fell into the hole, he would climb down by a ladder and eat him. In this way he ate all the people in his village one by one—about a hundred people. When he had eaten all the people in his village he returned to live in the forest, because there was nobody left to eat.

The cannibal motif appears in more subtle form in the parlor game known as *gabatā*, in which the aim is to accumulate as many pebbles as possible by moving them around a board with six holes on each side. In *gabatā* the active acquisition of pebbles is called "eating" and the passive acquisition is "drinking." Similarly, those who play chess or checkers refer to the process of taking a man as "eating" him. It is notable, moreover, that the Amhara version of the old riddle about how to transport a certain number of incompatible objects across the river in one boat is posed in terms of three human beings and three cannibals.

Oral sadism is further manifest among the Amhara by the nature of their speech. The Amhara are not only loquacious but also tend, both in manner of delivery and in content of conversation, to be biting and intrusive. Backbiting, insulting, arguing, and litigating are among their more characteristic modes of self-expression.

Backbiting and insulting, and the fear of being the victim of such activities, are the focus of much attention in Amhara culture. Concern about the former is expressed in a number of Amharic proverbs:

> If the mouth lacks work, it will backbite a friend.
>
> If you praise a man once, you will be in trouble if you backbite him later.
>
> If a man is a backbiter, listen for my sake when he talks to you.

Straightforward insults erupt the polite surface of Amhara social relations only under unusually heated circumstances, though it is customary for social superiors to direct a certain amount of abusive banter at their inferiors as

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at social gatherings in the course of discussions about nearly any subject. One cannot but conclude that the Amhara litigate to a large extent because for them it is an intrinsically pleasurable activity. At times, in fact, the forms of litigation are acted out as in a game. *Teṭäyaq*, for example, analogous to the Western process of cross-examination and a beloved feature of traditional court procedure, is sometimes practiced at parties though it has been outlawed in modern courts.[19] Two men will face a "judge" and try to bedevil each other with sly questions and preposterous claims. The content of the dispute is of no matter; it may be sheer nonsense.

Amhara litigants are ingenious at expressing themselves. They do so with gestures, intonation, and timing that achieve considerable dramatic effect. They are delighted to perform at the slightest provocation. The following incident, recorded during a morning at court in Manz, illustrates that dimension of Amhara litigation which consists of the inherently gratifying expression of oral aggression:

> The defendant had been accused of plowing the plaintiff's land without permission. In fact, however, the plaintiff had given the defendant previous permission to plow there—in front of a group of elders who testified accordingly. The judge therefore ruled against the plaintiff. The plaintiff said he would appeal this decision, because the permission he granted had not been registered in the governor's office and, besides, he had some other complaint to bring against the defendant.
>
> At this point someone in the audience rose and said: "That is all. The judge has ruled against you, and the case is finished." Whereupon the plaintiff told this speaker that he should keep quiet, that his speaking out was against the law, that he had bothered him when the case was tried before a lower level judge previously and should bother him no more. Instead of hushing up, the speaker left his position against the wall and stood next to the defendant, asserting that he would speak in behalf of the latter.
>
> The plaintiff then accused this man of talking out of turn. The judge acknowledged this accusation and called for witnesses. Instantly half a dozen or more men jumped to their feet, eyes bursting with excitement and pride as before a battle, and volunteered to witness against the speaker. One by one, with a great show of oratory, they said their pieces against the man who had spoken out of turn. More than once the judge had to urge these witnesses to stop talking after the evidence had been presented. By this time the substance of the original dispute seemed to have been completely forgotten.

Oral Ambivalence

Much as the oral zone is favored by the Amhara as a center for positive gratifications, both of the passive-receptive and the active-aggressive sort, such

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of shepherds,[19] as well as the secret formulae of magicians, the obscurantist constructions of wax and gold, and the use of Ge'ez itself in the presence of [illegible]es. Related to this is the great popularity of riddle games among Am-[illegible]. Personal relations, moreover, are consciously predicated on the harbor-[illegible] of [illegible] or *mĭṣṭir*. The Amhara assume that it is improper to reveal oneself fully, to disclose one's *mĭṣṭir*, to anyone but a very close friend; and that, in fact, rarely happens.

Given the weakness of horizontal forms of cohesion among the Amhara—sociability at mealtime, stylized politeness among equals, and co-operation in time of crisis, important though they are, cannot contain the centrifugal forces just described—the dispositions which sustain a minimum of social order among the Amhara are expressed through vertical, hierarchical forms of interaction. Here both individualistic and solidaristic forms are in evidence, the latter in the forms of deference and begging, the former in the variety of authoritarian relationships.

Perhaps the most characteristic form of interaction among the Amhara is that of *domination*. The Amhara is at his happiest when he is in a position to order someone about. The sense of domination is marked not only in relations between nobles and commoners, officers and soldiers, masters and servants, but also between husbands and wives, and parents and children. Amhara children sometimes volunteer the explanation of their desire to have children when they grow up as based on the explanation that then *they* will have youngsters of their own to command.

Connected with the passion to dominate is a predilection for administering physical punishment. In all of the relationships just mentioned corporal punishment is an integral feature, particularly so on the domestic scene. With sticks or whips, masters beat servants, teachers pupils, husbands wives, and parents children. The complete acceptance of this pattern was shown by the fact that not a single Amhara TAT respondent objected to any of the corporal punishment cards. They all assumed that the punishment depicted, including that of husband against wife and mistress against servant, was deserved, proper, and would have a salutary effect. (One of the respondents even exclaimed when regarding one of the beating scenes: "What a beautiful punishment!") The only reservations expressed concerned the possibility that the punishment might be so severe as to wound fatally the person being punished, in which case the punisher would have cause for regret.

Whatever the functions of such patterns in controlling antisocial behavior and securing adherence to the norms of the situation, the sentiment that underlies them is primarily egoistic. The superior is interested primarily in having his own way and gratifying his ego through the sheer exercise of his power: and the motivation of the punisher probably often contains a strong

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Amhara society as marked by a moderately high degree of independence. This is to say that Amhara society gives relatively wide rein to individual impulse in action. It is not to say that Amhara culture places a high value on the moral worth of the individual personality. That is a separate question, which we shall now proceed to explore.

INDIVIDUALITY VERSUS CONFORMITY AND ANONYMITY

The extent to which individual personality is valued in a society is reflected primarily in two aspects of its culture. One of these comprises its processes of education, in the broadest sense of the term; the other, its forms of art. The character of these aspects of culture reveal, respectively, the degree of concern for the *development* of an individualized self and the degree of concern for the *expression* of an individualized self.

Education and Socialization

Obedience and politeness are the overriding goals in bringing up children among the Amhara. After a prolonged and indulged infancy, the Amhara child from about three years on is subjected to a regime of discipline and repression. He is taught to fulfill without question any request made by any older person. He is conditioned to stand quietly whenever guests are present and to stand facing the wall while his parents or guests eat their dinner. If addressed by elders, especially those outside his immediate family, he is expected to reply in a barely audible whisper—a norm that is sometimes adhered to with such pathetic faithfulness that it has become the object of gentle satire in a short story by the young Ethiopian writer, Tadesse Liban.[26] Children who are noisy and disrespectful are referred to contemptuously by the term *bälagē*, meaning "rude."

The desires and interests of an Amhara child are not taken into account by those who raise him. He is provided with a bare minimum of clothes, and little effort is expended in procuring him playthings,[27] although in some families little dolls made of rags (*ashängulit*) are produced. Children have a rich play-life with their peers, but this consists mostly in imitating various adult activities. Organized games occur very rarely, the chief one—*gännä*—being played as a rule but once a year, on Christmas Day.[28] The traditional songs and dances are learned from other children while tending the herds, but children are not encouraged to perform them in front of adults. The opinions of children are never expressed, let alone consulted. Indeed, in some commoners' families the children are treated little better than the farm animals, if that well. One occasionally sees a peasant woman or servant directing her child to perform some chore by throwing clods of dirt or manure at him